COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. III. No. 5.] *London, Saturday, 5th February,* 1803. [Price 10D

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ESSAYS.

CONDUCT OF THE ADMIRALTY.

SIR,—I have been a watchful observer of the progressive state of naval affairs during the administration of Earl St. Vincent, and am very, very sorry to say, our navy is not in that flourishing state the situation of affairs require.

With regard to the artificers of the Dock Yards, I contend they have been treated with too much severity. There certainly was a want of a proper subordination, but to effect the reformation, it was not necessary to resort to the violent measures which were adopted by the Admiralty.—In May, 1801, an extensive discharge took place in order that *discipline* might be restored, and therefore a great number of innocent and deserving persons were dismissed, without any discrimination whatever; owing to a particular order the officers of the yards were under, to discharge those men, to whose lot it had fallen, to collect a six pence from each individual, which had been remitted to London, for the support of a deputation of their trade, who were in town petitioning for an increase of wages. If the deputies themselves had given offence, I think the discharge should have been confined to them, and not have extended to those who were ignorant of any transaction, beyond the general intention of their embassy; the consequence was, that the country has lost the service of near three hundred of the best shipwrights, which the Dock Yards to this day have not recovered.—The visitation of the Admiralty to the yards cannot have escaped your notice, a visitation that has procured them so *much credit*.—What! are they entitled to credit, for having discharged a number of men, at a time when the approaching rigour of the season, would deprive the generality of them of an opportunity of procuring for themselves and families a subsistence? For burthening parishes with heavy rates, by reason of the numbers that became objects of parochial charity? and for driving others to seek an asylum in foreign countries? No, I hope there are but very, very few Englishmen who can sanction such unnatural and impolitic proceedings.—I am inclined to attribute the credit they have obtained, to the two or three solitary instances of abuse they have discovered, which are magnified beyond all bounds, and for which the whole civil department of the navy is stigmatized. —It is much to be lamented there is so little charity in the world, that ten thousand men should be considered in an infamous light, because a few undeserving and peculating characters have been amongst them.—It has been said that Lord St. Vincent by his *wise* and *politic* system of economy has saved three millions per annum, and another person asserts that the annual peculations have amounted to £500,000. I shall therefore offer one powerful argument in opposition to those Munchausenlike statements, (statements which have originated from an intention to defame and vilify every person concerned in the internal government of the Dock Yards); by stating the whole expense of the yards in the year 1798, both for materials and workmanship amounted to no more than £1,994,000. Then how is it possible that three millions could be saved, or that peculations could be carried on to an amount exceeding a quarter of the whole expense? This I am certain of, that any one who has the smallest knowledge of naval affairs must see the fallaciousness of the assertions.—In every Dock Yard there is a description of people called cabin-keepers, pound-keepers, &c. whose duty it is to take charge of certain stores and issue them when wanted. These appointments have been generally filled up by shipwrights and artificers rather advanced in years; to which offices, as the employment was not laborious, they were perfectly competent, and were certainly, more to be depended on than young men.—Many of them, who at this time are equal to the task, have been discharged.—Some it is true were past labour, but it is generally admitted, that there are also several who are still capable of working, and who of course will work for individuals. —Indeed some artificers whom the Admiralty discharged as incapable of performing their duty, are now earning, in merchants yards, at the rate of eight or nine shillings per diem.

It has been asserted by a member of that board, the Dock-Yards are *full of artificers*, the truth of which I positively deny, for in one yard the shipwrights are now nearly two hundred short of the peace establishment, with a very little prospect of the numbers being encreased; and instead of making every exertion to repair the fleet, in some of the yards they are employed in pulling old ships to pieces. Surely it would be wiser, in the first place, to put the navy in a state of active employ, and after that is accomplished, works of less consequence might be carried on.—When the admiralty visited the yards in Sept. last, they discharged a number, with a promise of superannuation, four months have now elapsed without any provision being made for them, and the men already begin to think, the Admiralty have either forgotten their well deserved claims, or that they are to be consigned to their parishes without the promised remuneration. So much for their want of attention to the pressing calls of their fellow creatures. *O! tempora! O mores!*—I cannot resist making some observation with regard to the circumstance of the dismissal of the late builder of Plymouth Yard.—But in the first place, I must inform you that Lord St. Vincent's, then private secretary (Mr. B. Tucker), had a brother who was a foreman of the shipwrights in a merchant's yard, and who at *all* events was to be *provided* for, in one of the King's-yards.

He was therefore taken from his situation, and directly made an assistant to the master shipwright at Plymouth, (which is the second employment in the shipwright branch). This hasty appointment was a thing unheard of; for before any one could be promoted to that station, it had always been customary to serve, not only their apprenticeship in the Dock Yard, but to rise progressively to the rank of quaterman, foreman, master mastmaker, or boat-builder, before they could be an assistant; instead of which, *favouritism* and *partiality* prevailed.—There is one circumstance which requires particular attention. Soon after Lord St. Vincent was at the Admiralty, Mr. Marshall, the builder, received an anonymous letter, cautioning him to be on his guard, as it was the intention of the Admiralty to dismiss him.—In April last a committee of the Navy Board went to Plymouth, by an order from the Admiralty, to enquire into certain abuses, which *some one* had given them information of. At the head of the committee was Mr. B. Tucker (who at this time is a commissioner of the navy), dismissal was the result of the investigation, and immediately Mr. Tucker's brother was appointed builder.—This I am persuaded of, (and I am far from being singular in my opinion) that could Mr. Marshall have availed himself of a court martial, he would have been as honourably acquitted, as the late Sir W. Parker and General Innis. In page fifty-nine of the second number of the third volume of your Register, the circumstance of the ship Mars is related, otherwise I should have offered some observations thereon. But this I must be allowed to say, that I am of opinion had any other man betrayed such an evident want of judgment, he would have been dismissed, as unfit to hold a situation of that importance; but fortunately for Mr. Tucker, he was the private Secretary's brother, and therefore only had a *reprimand*. It is worth remarking, that previous to the enquiry taking place, which ended in the dismissal of the Plymouth officers, the late Clerk of the Cheque, who was an intimate friend and favourite of Lord St. Vincent's, was provided for by being placed on the superannuated list, and therefore escaped those charges in which otherwise he would have probably been included.—I will now advert to the general disposition of the officers and seamen towards the public service. With regard to the officers, I am persuaded *disgust* is the prevailing sentiment; and as for the sailors it appears but too evident how *they* stand affected.—Take a view of the ports where ships are fitting, and you will find that scarcely any enter, for ships that were commissioned four or five months since are still laying for want of hands, and although they have been commissioned so long a time, there is little or no prospect of their complements being completed, an alarming circumstance, considering the situation this country stands in. Hence the mutiny which has recently occurred, for had it been in the power of the Admiralty to have procured men for the ships which are now under orders to relieve those that are abroad, that much to be lamented and unfortunate circumstance would not have happened.—Notwithstanding this incontrovertible representation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer asserted, that were it necessary fifty sail of the line could be put to sea in a month. Perhaps it is right (and I will admit it is), to make it appear our navy is in the most prosperous state, at all events it is highly necessary for our repose, Europe should think so. For my own part I sincerely wish it was, but a thorough information convinces me it presents a most gloomy prospect.—And how can it be otherwise when the study of the present rulers of the Admiralty is to *persecute* and *degrade* every class without discrimination under their jurisdiction.—The Admi-

ralty Board with all their pretensions to economy, would not have scrupled to have burthened the Public with additional expenses, provided the comptroller of the navy and a resident commissioner had accepted the offers made to them, as observed by your correspondent R B.—In short, they stop at nothing, however impolitic and unwise, to gratify any favourite project they may have formed.—Some little time since, a member of that board asserted, that the Admiralty had a right to dismiss any individual without assigning to them a reason. I paused and hesitated when I came to the passage, being doubtful whether I was reading the speech of a *British senator*, or the declaration of a *Spanish inquisitor*. That men are to be turned into the street, like dogs from a kennel, with every degradation, without any chance of their having an opportunity of clearing themselves in the opinion of the world; is such treatment as every honest Englishman must shudder at: surely give a man a chance of exculpating himself, and if he fails in that, then, and not until then, punish him.—Many high encomiums have been passed on the Admiralty for their attention to the correction of abuses —But I contend they are not entitled to those hyperbolical compliments which some uninformed people so liberally bestow; for the new regulations which took place the 1st. July, 1801, and which did away one of the greatest evils complained of, that of permitting the workmen to carry out chips, was suggested by the commissioners of enquiry in 1784; not that I mean to say the regulations were planned by the commissioners of enquiry in toto; for I believe the greatest part originated with Earl Spencer, and were put in a train to be carried into execution long before Lord St. Vincent was at the Admiralty; and therefore, they cannot be entitled to popularity for having only put in force the measures that were framed by their predecessors.—It has been an unfortunate circumstance for many individuals, that the leading persons at the Admiralty had so long a list of favourites, who *were* to be provided for, at *all* events; had it been otherwise, many who are now drinking of the bitter cup of sorrow and affliction, would still have enjoyed comfortable appointments. —Almost every individual in the civil and military department seems to entertain the same sentiment, and it is painful to state that *distrust* and *murmurs* are predominant. —Are these times to add (by the violent and oppressive manner of a department of the government) to the disaffected of the country? Surely not, for if ever it was needful that Britain should be united, I know of no one period that required it more than the present. Under the present Admiralty people will not, they cannot have confidence: *too* many are still smarting under the baneful effects of their violent proceedings.—Even amongst themselves, it is well understood they cannot agree, and therefore a house divided against itself must fall; and the sooner that takes place, the better it will be for the welfare of Great Britain.

23*d Jan.* 1803. W. B.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Convention between Austria, France, and Russia, signed at Paris on the 26th Dec. 1802.

His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, having signified that he could not consider the 5th article of the treaty of Luneville, as far as it relates to his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, as sufficiently fulfilled by the plan of indemnities agreed to by the Deputation of the Empire; and as the First Consul of the French Republic, on his part, has nothing more at heart than to contribute to the entire and perfect fulfilment of that treaty, it has been resolved, with the consent of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to agree on certain modifications to be introduced into the plan accepted by the Deputation of the Empire, to render it conformable to the principles of the treaty of Luneville, and such as may receive the ratifications of the Emperor and the Empire.—For this purpose the high contracting powers have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, namely, his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur John Philip, Count Cobentzel; and the First Consul of the French Republic, Citizen Joseph Buonaparté, who having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:—Art. I. To enlarge the indemnities stipulated in favour of his Highness the Duke of Modena and his heirs, his Imperial Majesty cedes the district or province Ortenau, with all its dependencies, to be united to the Breisgau, and his highness and his heirs shall possess these two provinces without any exception or limitation, according to the 4th article of the treaty of Luneville, which, with respect to the duke, is to be understood as well of the Ortenau as of the Breisgau. —Art. II. To indemnify his Imperial Majesty for the cession of the Ortenau, the two bishopricks Trent and Brixen shall be secularised, and his Majesty shall receive possession of the same, and all their property, rights, and revenues, only under the condition that he shall provide for the the maintenance, for life, of the two Prince-bishops and the Chapters, as shall be agreed on, and for the future dotation of the clergy, which, in these dioceses, shall be placed on the same footing as in the other provinces of the Austrian monarchy.—Art. III. To complete the indemnities of his Royal Highness the Archduke, Grand Duke (of Tuscany), the bishopric of Eichstadt shall be added to what has already been assigned to his Royal Highness by the general conclusum, or recess, of the 2d of Frimaire (Nov. 23), to be possessed by his Royal Highness and his heirs, in full sovereignty and independence, with all the property, revenues, rights and prerogatives connected therewith, as possessed by the Prince-bishop himself at the time of the signing the treaty of Luneville; only with the exception of the districts of Sandsee, Wernfelt, Spalt, Oberberg, Hornburg, and

Warburg, with all the dependencies of the bishopric of Eichstadt, contained in the territories of Anspach and Bayreuth, which shall remain to his Electoral Palatine Highness of Bavaria, and shall be recompensed to his Royal Highness the Archduke, Grand Duke, by a suitable equivalent from the domains of his Electoral Highness of Bavaria in Bohemia, and in case these should not be sufficient, from other revenues of his Electoral Highness.—Art. IV. For the confirmation of the said stipulations, and the property and other rights which his Imperial Majesty, as sovereign of the Austrian hereditary states, and head of the Empire, has agreed on and ceded for the completion of the plan of indemnities, his Majesty engages to employ his influence that the general plan of indemnities, as modified by the present convention, shall be ratified by the Empire, and that it shall, without delay, receive the Imperial ratification.—Art. V. It is expressly understood, that after the exchange of the present act, the territories mentioned in the preceding articles shall be taken possession of, both in the civil manner, by the princes to whom they are allotted, or in their names; also that the city of Passau, and the suburbs of Instadt and Illstadt, shall be immediately evacuated by the troops of his Imperial Majesty, and given up to his Electoral Palatine Highness of Bavaria, but under condition that the fortifications of the city shall not be enlarged or strengthened, but only maintained in their present state; and that no new fortifications shall be erected in the suburbs of Instadt and Illstadt. Also in the territory of the bishopric of Eichstadt, no new fortifications shall be erected by his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand or his heirs.—Art. VI. The First Consul of the French Republic will unite with his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias to procure the electoral dignity for his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand.—Art. VII. The high contracting parties guarantee reciprocally the fulfilment of every thing contained in the preceding articles, and the minister plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias shall be invited to accede to the present convention, for and in the name of his Imperial Majesty, as a contracting principal.—The present convention shall be ratified within twenty days from the present time, or sooner if possible.—Done at Paris, the 5th Nivose, of the year 11, (Dec. 26, 1802).—(Signed) *Phil. Cobenzel.—Joseph Buonaparté.—Count Markoff.*

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Genoa, Jan. 6.—This day three French ships of the line have entered our port, under the command of Vice-Admiral Bedou, after a voyage of twenty days from Brest; each with a crew of 560 men. On board this squadron, the Polish demi-brigade will embark, after being reviewed.

Florence, Jan. 7.—We yesterday received, by a Courier from Leghorn, the agreeable intelligence that the Spanish fleet which brings back our Sovereigns, had arrived within sight of that Port, but a contrary wind prevented the disembarkation of their Majesties.

Amsterdam, Jan. 15.—Yesterday the Legislative Body at the Hague resolved that the Batavian Rescriptions should be changed into State Obligations. The plan is not exactly known, but the principal outline is said to be, that to a rescription of 1000 florins, 800 florins shall be added in ready money, for which shall be given three obligations, each of 1000 florins, to bear an interest of [illegible] per cent. at least. In consequence of this determination, the Batavian Rescriptions have to-day fallen to 60; but they find many buyers at that price, and will probably soon be higher.

Hague, Jan. 15.—The French expedition to Louisiana, is delayed by the severity of the weather; the ships destined for it are all frozen in at Helveotsluys. One hundred and thirty women and two hundred children, are to go with this expedition. The troops consist of six battalions of Infantry, 190 Dragoons, the Corps of Guides, and a detachment of Artillery.—We are returning throughout our Republic to our old institutions and customs. Many of the partizans of the Stadtholder have been admitted into different Municipal Offices, and the Government of the City of Amsterdam has published a Proclamation, restoring the Guilds or Corporations which had been abolished by the second Legislative Body, through the whole Republic. No person can now carry on any manufacture or fabrick in Amsterdam, within the laws of the late Corporation, who is not free of the Guild.

Brussels, Jan. 20.—It appears that it is not in the vicinity of our city alone that an encampment is to be formed for 12,000 men. Accounts from the borders of the Rhine mention, that an equal number of troops is to be stationed on this part of the frontier.—The general commanding the 27th military division, has received positive orders to this effect. According to the same advices, the Prefects of the four new departments are to meet in a few days at Coblentz, to confer with Citizen Dauchy, on all matters that concern their governments. General Beliard had set out, on the 13th, for Paris, with the greatest precipitation; he returned yesterday evening, but did not stop a moment. He proceeded immediately to Ghent, where the Counsellor of State, Pellet de la Lozere, still is. It is not known what occasioned this precipitate journey, and this return equally precipitate.

New York, Dec. 25.—The accounts from New Orleans confirm the apprehensions which the inhabitants of the United States entertained on the subject of the cession of Louisiana to France. A letter from that place, dated October 28, states, that no Spanish vessel is allowed to load with any thing but Spanish produce, and that only for France, Spain, or the Colonies. Another letter of the 29th of the same month, mentions that the ship Matilda, from London, was not permitted to land her cargo, and the consignees of a number of vessels from Europe and the United States had dispatched orders for the Captains of the respective ships not to proceed up the river, as their cargoes could not be received.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Message of the President of the United States of America, to the Congress, on Wednesday, Dec. 15, 1802.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.—When we assemble together, Fellow Citizens, to consider the state of our beloved country, our just attentions are first drawn to those pleasing circumstances which mark the goodness of that Being from whose favour they flow; and the large measure of thankfulness we owe for his bounty. Another year has come around, and finds us still blessed with peace and friendship abroad; law, order, and religion at home; good affection and harmony with our Indian neighbours; our burthens lightened, yet our income sufficient for the public wants, and the produce of the year great beyond example. These, fellow citizens, are the circum-

stances under which we meet; and we remark, with special satisfaction, those which, under the smiles of Providence, result from the skill, industry, and order of our citizens, managing their own affairs in their own way, and for their own use, unembarrassed by too much regulation, unoppressed by fiscal exactions.—On the restoration of peace in Europe, that portion of the carrying trade which had fallen to our share during the war, was abridged by the returning competition of the Belligerent Powers. This was to be expected and was just. But, in addition, we find, in some parts of EUROPE, *monopolizing discriminations*, which, in the form of duties, tend effectually to prohibit the carrying thither our own produce in our own vessels. From existing amities, and a spirit of justice, it is hoped that friendly discussion will produce a fair and adequate reciprocity. But should false calculations of interest defeat our hope, it rests with the Legislature to decide whether they will meet inequalities abroad with countervailing inequalities at home, or provide for the evil in any other way.—It is with satisfaction I lay before you an Act of the British Parliament, anticipating this subject, so far as to authorise a mutual abolition of the duties, and countervailing duties, permitted under the treaty of 1794. It shews, on their part, a spirit of justice and friendly accommodation, which it is our duty and our interest to cultivate with all nations. Whether this would produce a due equality in the navigation between the two countries, is a subject for your consideration.—Another circumstance which claims attention, as directly affecting the very source of our navigation, is the defect, or the evasion, of the law providing for the return of seamen, and particularly of those belonging to vessels sold abroad. Numbers of them, discharged in foreign ports, have been thrown on the hands of our Consuls, who, to rescue them from the dangers into which their distresses might plunge them, and save them to their country, have found it necessary, in some cases, to return them at the public charge.—The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, *if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations*, which will, doubtless, have just weight in any deliberations of the Legislature connected with that subject.—There was reason, not long since, to apprehend that the warfare in which we were engaged with Tripoli, might be taken up by some other of the Barbary powers. A reinforcement, therefore, was immediately ordered to the vessels already there.—Subsequent information, however, has removed these apprehensions for the present. To secure our commerce in that sea, with the smallest force competent, we have supposed it best to watch strictly the harbour of Tripoli. Still, however, the shallowness of their coast, and the want of smaller vessels on our part, has permitted some cruizers to escape unobserved; and to one of these an American vessel unfortunately fell a prey. The captain, one American seaman, and two others of colour, remain prisoners with them, unless exchanged under an agreement formerly made with the Bashaw, to whom, on the faith of that, some of his captive subjects had been restored.—The Convention with the State of Georgia has been ratified by their Legislature, and a re-purchase from the Creeks has been consequently made, of a part of the Tallassee country. In this purchase has been also comprehended a part of the lands within the fork of Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers. The particulars of the contract will be laid before Congress so soon as they shall be in a state for communication.—In order to remove every ground of difference possible with our Indian neighbours, I have proceeded in the work of settling with them, and marking the boundaries between us. That with the Chactaw nation is fixed in one part, and will be through the whole within a short time. The country to which their title had been extinguished before the revolution is sufficient to receive a very respectable population, which Congress will probably see the expediency of encouraging, so soon as the limits shall be declared. We are to view this position as an outpost of the United States, surrounded by strong neighbours, and distant from its support. And how far that monopoly, which prevents population, should here be guarded against, and actual habitation made a condition of the continuance of title, will be for your consideration. A prompt settlement too, of all existing rights and claims within this territory, presents itself as a preliminary operation.—In that part of the Indian territory which includes Vincennes, the lines settled with the neighbouring tribes fix the extinction of their title at a breadth of 24 leagues from East to West, and about the same length parallel with and including the Wabash. They have also ceded a track of four miles square, including the Salt Springs near the mouth of that river.—In the department of finance it is with pleasure I inform you that the receipts of external duties, for the last twelve months, have exceeded those of any former year, and that the ratio of increase has been also greater than usual. This has enabled us to answer all the regular exigencies of Government, to pay from the Treasury, within one year, upwards of eight millions of dollars, principal and interest of the public debt, exclusive of upwards of one million paid by the sale of bank stock, and making in the whole a reduction of nearly five millions and a half of principal, and to have now in the Treasury four millions and a half of dollars, which are in the course of application to the further discharge of debt and current demands. Experience, too, so far authorises us to believe, if no extraordinary event supervenes, and the expenses which will be actually incurred shall not be greater than were contemplated by Congress at their last session, that we shall not be disappointed in the expectations then formed. But, nevertheless, as the effect of peace on the amount of duties is not yet fully ascertained, it is the more necessary to practise every useful economy, and to incur no expense, which may be avoided without prejudice.—The collection of the internal taxes having been completed in some of the States, the officers employed in it are of course out of commission. In others they will be so shortly. But in a few, where the arrangements for the direct tax had been retarded, it will still be some time before the system is closed. It has not yet been thought necessary to employ the agent authorised by an Act of the last Session, for transacting business in Europe relative to debts and loans. Nor have we used the power confided by the same Act, of prolonging the foreign debt by re-loans, and of redeeming instead thereof, an equal sum of the domestic debt. Should, however, the difficulties of remittance on so large a scale render it necessary at any time, the power shall be executed, and the money thus unemployed abroad shall, in conformity with that law, be faithfully employed here in an equivalent extinction of domestic debt. When effects so salutary

result from the plans you have already sanctioned, when merely by avoiding false objects of expense, we are able, without a direct tax, without internal taxes, and without borrowing, to make large and effectual payments towards the discharge of our public debt, and the emancipation of our posterity from that mortal canker, it is an encouragement, fellow citizens, of the highest order, to proceed as we have begun in substituting economy for taxation, and in pursuing what is useful for a nation, placed as we are, rather than what is practised by others under different circumstances. And whensoever we are destined to meet events which shall call forth all the energies of our countrymen, we have the firmest reliance on those energies, and the comfort of leaving for calls like these, the extraordinary resources of loans and internal taxes. In the mean time, by payments of the principal of our debt, we are liberating, annually, portions of the external taxes, and forming from them a growing fund, still further to lessen the necessity of recurring to extraordinary resources.—The usual account of receipts and expenditures for the last year, with an estimate of the expenses of the ensuing one, will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Treasury. —*No change being deemed necessary in our military establishment*, an estimate of its expenses for the ensuing year, on its present footing, as also of the sums to be employed in fortifications, and other objects within that department, has been prepared by the Secretary at War, and will make a part of the general estimates which will be presented to you.—Considering that our regular troops are employed for local purposes, and that the militia is our general reliance for great and sudden emergencies, you will doubtless think this institution worthy of a review, and give it those improvements of which you find it susceptible.—Estimates for the naval department, prepared by the Secretary of the Navy for another year, will in like manner be communicated with the general estimates. A small force in the Mediterranean will still be necessary to restrain the Tripoline cruizers: and the uncertain tenure of peace with some other of the Barbary powers, may eventually require that force to be augmented. The necessity of procuring some smaller vessels for that service, will raise the estimate; but the difference in their maintenance will soon make it a measure of economy.—Presuming it will be deemed expedient to expend annually a convenient sum towards providing the naval defence which our situation may require, I cannot but recommend that the first appropriations for that purpose, may go to the saving what we already possess. No cares, no attentions, can preserve vessels from rapid decay, which lie in water, and exposed to the sun. These decays require great and constant repairs, and will consume, if continued, a great portion of the monies destined to naval purposes. To avoid this waste of our resources, it is proposed to add to our navy yard here a dock, within which our present vessels may be laid up dry, and under cover from the sun. Under these circumstances experience proves that works of wood will remain scarcely at all affected by time. The great abundance of running water which this situation possesses, at heights far above the level of the tide, if employed as is practised for lock navigation, furnishes the means for raising and laying up our vessels, on a dry sheltered bed. And should the measure be found useful here, similar depositories for laying up, as well as for building and repairing vessels, may hereafter be undertaken at other navy yards, offering the same means. The plans and estimates of the work, prepared by a person of skill and experience, will be presented by you without delay; and from these it will be seen that scarcely more than has been the cost of one vessel is necessary to save the whole, and that the annual sum to be employed towards its completion may be adapted to the views of the Legislature as to naval expenditure.—To cultivate peace, and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprizes; to foster our fisheries as nurseries of navigation, and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances; to preserve the faith of the nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, expend the public money with the same care and economy we would practise with our own, and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burthens; to keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal union, as the only rock of safety; these, fellow citizens, are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings. By continuing to make these our rule of action, we shall endear to our countrymen the true principles of their constitution, and promote an union of sentiment and of action, equally auspicious to their happiness and safety. On my part you may count a cordial concurrence in every measure for the public good; and on all the information I possess which may enable you to discharge to advantage the high functions with which you are invested by your country. (Signed) *Thomas Jefferson.*

On the 22d December, the Governor and Council of Essequibo and Demerara, and the Districts thereunto belonging, published a Proclamation notifying to the Inhabitants, that Anthony Meertens, the newly-appointed Governor-General of those Colonies, had arrived with the Batavian Troops, and after the Colonies had been duly surrendered to the Batavian Republic, had appeared in the Council assembled, and delivered his Commission from the Batavian Directory, as Governor-General, which Commission is as follows:

The Directory of the Batavian Republic, to all to whom these presents may come, health. Be it known, that, having judged it necessary for the advantage and service of the country to appoint a Governor General for the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara, we hereby name and appoint such a governor, in the person of Anthony Meertens, on whose abilities, fidelity, and vigilance, we can perfectly rely, charging him to conduct himself in his post faithfully, according to the oath he has taken to his country, and agreeably to the duty of a good and faithful governor-general, according to the instructions he has received, or shall hereafter receive, hereby commanding all, and every one to acknowledge, respect, and obey the above-named Anthony Meertens, in the before-mentioned capacity, and to render him every aid and assistance in whatever he may judge for the advantage of the colony.—Done at the Hague the 11th May, 1802.—*Samuel Van Hoogstraaten, V. P.*

The governor and council then order, that the said Anthony Meertens shall be acknowledged and obeyed as governor-general of the colonies of Demerara and Essequibo, by all the colleges within the said colonies. They add, that all the inhabitants within the same are *ipso facto* released, by the restoration of the colonies to the Batavian Republic, from the oath of fidelity which they took to his Britannic Majesty at the time of their surrender, and they require them in consequence to

take an oath of fidelity to the governor-general of the following tenor:—"I promise and swear, that "I will be faithful to the directory of the Batavian Republic, as the supreme authority to "which I am subject; to the council of the American colonies and possessions, and to the governor-general of these colonies, that I will render "them all due obedience, that I will take no part "in any conspiracies, cabals, or factions; but, on "the contrary, support the general tranquillity, "safety, and welfare, with all my power, and resist every thing that may tend to disturbance or "injury, and, on all occasions, conduct myself as "becomes a good and peaceable citizen, and inhabitant, without suffering either favour or affection, hope or reward, fear of the loss of property or life, or any other motive to induce me "to swerve from my duty."—All the inhabitants of Demerara who shall not have taken this oath and signed their names to it in a register, before the last day of January, and those of Essequibo who shall not have taken it, and signed in the same manner, before the last day of February, will be compelled to leave the country.

Remonstrance of the Civil and Military authorities of Constance against the Article published by the Moniteur, relative to the English agent, Mr. Moore. (Vol. 2. p. 881.)

Several gazettes, both French and German, have repeated after the Moniteur, the official journal of France, an article from Constance, dated 15th December, which concerns Mr. Moore, an English gentleman, his stay, and his occupations at Constance. The facts contained in that article being immediately connected with this city, cannot be so well ascertained any where else as here. Of these facts the following only are strictly true:—1st. Mr. Moore has been in this city, but he left it the 15th December, consequently ten days before the date of the said article. 2d. One Rocket went from Constance to London. 3d. The ci-devant Bailly Wagner lodged at the Aigle until he had hired a private house. 4th. Mr. Moore lived here in the most quiet manner. All the rest of the article is a direct falsehood: and it is difficult to conceive how any correspondent could have ventured to furnish the French Official Journal with an article in which there are more lies than lines. The Imperial Commandant of this city and the directors of the police have though themselves bound in honour and in duty to make the present declaration.—*Constance. Jan. 2d.* 1803.

DOMESTIC.

On Wednesday his Majesty held a levee at Saint James'.—At one o'clock the grand convocation of the clergy of England arrived from Westminster Abbey, having previously finished the holding of the convocation in the Jerusalem Chamber. It was attended by his Grace the Archb. *of Canterbury*, bishops of Winchester, London, Ely, Litchfield, St. Asaph, Hereford, Rochester, Bath, and Wells, Bristol, Rev. Drs. Glasse, Gordon, Tattersall, and Fisher, Rev. Mr. Moore, Rev. Mr. Nares, and the Rev. Dr. Vincent, dean of Westminster, who was appointed prolocutor to the convocation, in which capacity he delivered to his Majesty the address of the clergy, on the meeting of the new Parliament.

Downing Street, Jan. 29.—The King has been pleased to appoint William Drummond, Esq. to be his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte.—The King has also been pleased to appoint Hugh Elliot, Esq. to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Naples.—The King has been pleased to appoint Anthony Merry, Esq. to be his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America.—The King has been pleased to appoint Edward Thornton, Esq. to be his Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Hague.

Crown Office, Jan. 29.—Members returned to serve in this present parliament.—*Borough of Gatton.*—Philip Dundas, of New Norfolk Street, Grosvenor Square, Middlesex, Esq. in the room of James Dashwood, Esq. who has accepted the office of steward of his Majesty's manor of East Hendred, in the county of Berks.

Whitehall, March 20, 1802.—The King has been graciously pleased to give and grant unto his Excellency Thomas Earl of Elgin, his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte, his royal license and permission to receive and wear the insignia of the Order of the Crescent, given to him by the Ottoman Emperor.—*Aug.* 21. The King has also been graciously pleased to give and grant unto his Excellency Sir John Borlase Warren, Baronet, Knight of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Rear-admiral of the White Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, and his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the court of St. Petersburgh, his royal license and permission to receive and wear the insignia of the Order of the Crescent, transmitted to him by the Ottoman Emperor.—And also to command, that these his Majesty's concessions and declarations, together with the relative documents, be registered in his College of Arms.

Bankrupts.—Wood, W. Liverpool, flour-dealer.—Teesdale, J. the Younger, Boston, merchant.—Presgrave, E. Spalding, merchant.—Prickett, T. Warwick-lane, scrivener.—Burnett, S. Petersfield, victualler.—Wright, T. Leeds, merchant.—Calton, G. Sheffield, linen-draper.—Hull, W. Upper Boddington, Northampton, and L. Hull, Banbury, cow-dealers.—Rogers, W. Dipley Mill, Southampton, miller and malster.—Quagle, M. Liverpool, merchant.—Porter, R. C. Kingston-upon-Hull, ironmonger.—Boorman, J. Headcorn, timber-merchant.—Jackson, F. Basinghall-street, factor.—Cooke, J. Manchester, merchant.—Toy, E. Plymouth-dock, draper.—Jeffery, J. Bristol, cutler.—Garwood, J. Royston, victualler.—Pennington, L. Warrington, corn-dealer.

Births.—On the 9th ult. at Hains Castle, Lady Errol, of a daughter. On the 29th ult. at Cottle's House, Wilts, the Lady of B. Hobhouse, Esq. M.P. of a daughter.—*Marriage.*—On the 20th ult. Maj. Gen. Gent to Miss Temple French.

Army on the 1st Feb. 1803.	Regulars				
	Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Tot Ba.	Inv. Co
England and Wales	20	27	—	47	—
North Britain.....	2	7	—	9	6
Ireland	7	22	3	32	—
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.....	—	5	—	5	—
Gibraltar.....	—	6	—	6	—
Egypt and Malta	1	7	—	8	—
Canada, Nova Scotia, &c.....	—	6	1	7	—
West-Indies	—	21	—	21	—
Cape of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	—	5	—	5	—
East-Indies, and on Passage to	5	20	—	25	—
On Passage to England or Ireland from sundry places	—	6	—	6	—
Total,.....	35	132	4	171	6

Navy on the 1st Feb. 1803.	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In Port and fitting, and with sealed orders	9	2	32	43	86
Guard Ships	0	0	0	0	0
In the English and Irish Channels	0	0	5	15	20
On the Downs and North Sea stations	0	0	10	13	23
At the West-India Islands and on the Passage	2	0	5	21	28
On the Jamaica station	9	0	9	9	27
America and Newfoundland stations	0	1	4	5	10
Cape of Good Hope, East-Indies, and on the Passage	6	7	13	17	43
Coast of Africa	0	0	1	1	2
Portugal and Gibraltar	0	0	3	6	9
Mediterranean and on Passage	10	2	21	14	47
Hospital and Prison Ships	1	0	0	0	1
Total in Commission	37	12	103	144	296
Receiving Ships	7	0	7	0	14
Serviceable and repairing for Service	30	2	9	0	41
In Ordinary	99	11	91	70	271
Building	24	0	10	3	37
Total	197	25	220	217	659
Ordinary.					
Portsmouth	39	3	26	11	79
Plymouth	46	1	22	21	90
Chatham	43	7	28	2	72
Sheerness	5	2	8	9	24
River	3	0	31	28	62
Total	136	13	107	71	327

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THUR.
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr. C. R. An.	71⅛	70⅝	—	71	—	71⅛
3 per C. Con.	70⅝	70¾	—	70½	—	70⅝
4 pr. C. Con.	87¼	87⅛	—	87	—	87
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	100⅜	100	—	100¼	—	100½
Bank L. Ann.	20 5/16	20½	—	—	—	20¼
D° S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	103⅛	103⅝	—	103½	—	103
Omnium	4½ dis	4¼ dis	—	4 dis	—	4¼ dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c. f.	36 2	2 us.	Leghorn	50	
D°, at sight	35 10		Naples	40¾	
Rotterdam	36 3	2 us.	Genoa	46	
Hamburgh	34 3	2½us.	Venice, 51 livres piccole effective per £. ster.		
Altona	34 4	2½us.	Lisbon	68¼	
Paris 1 day	24 8		Oporto	68½	
Paris	24 12	2 us.	Dublin	13	
Bourdeaux,	27 13		Bilboa	35¾	
Cadiz	35½	eff.	Agio, bank on Hol. p.		
Madrid	35¼	effective			

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat prq.	46s. to 62s	Hops per cwt.	200s to 224s
Rye	35 .. 38	Hay per load	75 .. 140
Barley	24 .. 28	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.6d.
Malt	43 .. 47	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d.
Oats	15 .. 22	Veal	6s. 0d. to 7s. 6d.
Pease (white)	33 .. 39	Pork	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Beans (horse)	34 .. 38	Tallow	4s. 6d.
Flour per sack	45 .. 50	Av. of Sugar pr cw	37s. 2d.
Seconds	40 .. 45	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal.	52 .. 57	Bread 9½d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

In taking up the pen to discharge this our weekly duty to our readers, we have seldom had before us so many topics of importance as at this moment. Some of them we must put off till another opportunity; but the following ones, however brief and imperfect the sketch, we cannot suffer to pass unnoticed for another week; to wit: —1. *The right of cutting wood at Honduras*; 2. The speech of the American President, particularly as far as it relates to the *cession of Louisiana to France*; 3. Projects relative to *St. Domingo*; 4. The conduct of the *Admiralty*; 5. The state of *Parties*.

The right of cutting Logwood. —We gave in our last sheet (page 110), a publication from the Honduras merchants, relative to this right; and we, at the same time, intimated our own intention of discussing the question, which, with the reader's indulgence, we shall now attempt to do.——It was before stated, that, whatever might be the nature and quality of our right, the ministers were equally to blame for having left it open to dispute, and for having closely disguised from the parliament the real state of the settlement, as we now find it was laid before them by the parties interested therein. But it is no longer a question between the ministry and the parliament that we have to consider: it is a question between England and Spain backed with the counsel and the power of France; and, as it is probable, that the valuable settlement at Honduras, after an enjoyment of nearly a century and a half, must be shortly given up for ever, or be defended by arms, it behoves us to ascertain, with what precision we may, what are the grounds, on which our right is now to be maintained. — The logwood merchants affect to believe, that it will be an *indulgence* to the Spaniards, if we do not insist upon continuing to occupy the limits as extended during the war: "If they "quarrel about the matter," say these heroic gentlemen, "ministers ought to give "orders for *strengthening* our position at "Honduras, send out *reinforcements*, and "bid the Spaniards *defiance*. We have the "right, we have the power, and Buonaparté should be taught that he *must not* "*domineer*, when he has not the ability to "act." It is surprizing how brave your timid animals become when their dearest possessions are in danger! But, as the honourable feelings of these gentlemen were not powerful enough to urge them forward, in opposition to the ruinous and disgraceful treaty of Amiens; as they could view, with indifference, the base abandon-

ment of their country's allies, the surrender of its bulwarks, and the exposure of its very existence as an independent nation; as they were reconciled to all these sacrifices for the sake of obtaining the "blessings of peace," they will certainly excuse us, if, before we cast away that dear bought "blessing" merely for their sakes, we take time to enquire, whether or not we have justice on our side.—There is no doubt, that a war *dissolves all existing treaties* from the very nature of war; and, all treaties being dissolved by war, mere peace does not renew them. "Then," say the merchants of Honduras, "by the same rule, "Spain may demand Gibraltar or Jamaica, "because the treaties of 1667 and 1713 "were not renewed at Amiens." Not so. There are some points, which, when once ceded, do not require to be renewed after a war; but there are others that do. Treaties, or parts of treaties, as we observed, on a former occasion, *cease* of themselves the moment they are *fully executed*. Gibraltar was not only ceded but taken possession of. The stipulation was executed, and its force was at an end. But, if Spain had, by a stipulation of the same treaty, obtained or reserved the privilege of selling oranges in the town, or of keeping a number of persons to dig stones out of one of the quarries, such a stipulation would have been found to be *unexecuted* at the breaking out of the war between England and Spain, and would, of course, have ceased to be any longer binding upon England, until again positively renewed.—The erroneous conclusion of the Honduras merchants (or rather their lawyer), proceeds from their confounding a *right of dominion* with a *right of convention*, which are not more different in their origin than in their nature and effects. The right of dominion (like that of Gibraltar for instance), once ceded, need not be renewed after any subsequent war; because it is a complete right, and requires neither the act nor the will of any other power to preserve the existence or enjoyment of it. But all rights, which are not rights of dominion, which are encroachments on that right, which are to be exercised in the dominions of *another* power, which require not only the past but the present and the future consent of that power, and an active continuance of his permission, must be renewed after a war. Such are rights of *commerce*, of *fishery*, of *drying fish*, of *cutting wood*, &c.—The Master of the Rolls, in his defence of the treaty, rightly took this line of arguing, but he fallaciously contended, that our right to cut wood at Honduras was like a right of dominion, and therefore need not be renewed.* He did not distinguish between those rights, which are to be exercised in *one's own dominions*, and, therefore, require the interference of one power only; and those rights, which are to be exercised in the dominions of *another* power, and which require the consent of two parties—a circumstance which, in the affairs of nations, always implies a covenant of some kind or other.—The proof that this doctrine is sound, is, that, in all treaties, the right of dominion, once ceded, is seldom, if ever, renewed; and, that rights of the other species, if meant to be revived, are always renewed specifically: nor is there, we believe, an instance of the contrary, and, it is well known, that the *practice* of nations is the *law* of nations.—The argument of the ministers, is, that we have kept possession during the war, and that, as (according to VATTEL), at a peace, every thing is to remain in *statu quo*, if not altered by specific articles, we still have the right to possess. But, is this really and truly the meaning of VATTEL? We think not. "The state of "things at the instant of making the treaty "is held to be legitimate, and any change "to be made in it requires an express specification in the treaty; consequently all "things not mentioned in the treaty, are to "remain *as they were at the conclusion of it.*" † True, and all we have to determine, is, what, as relative to the present point, was "*the state of things*" at the instant of making the treaty of Amiens? Why, the war had abrogated the convention of 1786; it was in *that state* at the conclusion of the peace, and as this state was not changed by any express specification in the treaty, the convention remained abrogated, and the right ceased.—But, say the ministers, we kept possession during the whole of the war. Granted; but, though the possession was preserved, the *nature* of it was changed. From being possessors by covenant, as friends and allies, you became possessors without covenant, as adversaries and as enemies, which is clearly proved by the attempt actually made by the other party to drive you out. Peace came: as we had clearly and unequivocally acknowledged, in 1783 and 1786, the whole right of sovereignty and dominion to be in the King of Spain, the Spaniards said nothing, in the treaty of Amiens, about Honduras: on their part, there was no occasion for any stipulation on the subject: they knew that we were, at that moment, in forcible possession of the exercise of a privilege to cut wood, and of a part of their shore in South

* See his speech, Vol. II. Supplement, p. 1146.
† Vattel, L. IV. Sect. 21.

America; but, as they knew, that we no longer possessed either by treaty, they, of course, regarded us as occupiers or conquerors, and, as all places occupied or conquered are, by the treaty of Amiens, to be restored, what we possessed at Honduras must of necessity be restored. The logwood lawyer goes upon the point of *possession*, but he does not appear to consider its nature, and that our possession, not being grounded on a right of dominion, but on a right of an inferior kind, must, to be good and valid, be specifically revived. The instances which he brings of Gibraltar, Canada, and Newfoundland have already been noticed; but what is the case as to the *fisheries* in the Gulph of St. Lawrence and Newfoundland? The French, aware of the principle we have stated, have not neglected to renew *their* rights, of this sort, by the treaty of Amiens! * Shall we be told, that there is a distinction here; and that the French did not *possess* the use of the fisheries *during the war* as we did that of the logwood districts? Who knows this? Who knows, that there were not French fishermen on the Banks every day in every season during the war? And, the poor fishermen of St. John's know, to their sorrow, that there was one part of the war when the French were completely masters of all the Banks. The French government knew this; but, it also knew, that we claimed the right of dominion in the fisheries in question, and therefore, it wisely renewed its conventional right to the use of them, which right had been abrogated by the war. This pretext of a right of possession, founded on a successful resistance of the Spaniards during the war, was, we think, satisfactorily replied to in a letter to Sir Frederick Eden: "We traded to Honduras, "we built huts and cut wood there, by "permission of the King of Spain; a permission secured to us by treaties existing "before the war. From the commencement of the war, the permission ceased; "and, do you really imagine, Sir, that our "continuing to cut wood without permission, during the war, is a conclusive "proof of our having a right to continue "to cut wood during the peace? Because "a tenant has kept forcible possession of "your house for a long time after the expiration of his lease, shall he thereon "found a right to possess it for ever?" We call upon the logwood lawyer to answer these questions.—As to the quotation from Mably † it is expressly limited to rights of *dominion*, and is, in itself, very true: but, the inference (like that of the Master of the Rolls) extended to the case of Honduras, which has nothing to do with a right of dominion, is false. This distinction we take to be the hinge of the question.—Suppose, then, it is true, that the Spaniards have ordered us to quit Honduras, what argument have we to oppose to such an order? Can we say we are possessors by covenant? They will ask what covenant. Suppose we say, by the treaty of 1783, or by the convention of 1786? They will reply: those covenants were dissolved by the war, and you have not renewed them. Shall we next say, that we have kept possession during the war? Granted, say they; but you did so against our will; you did so as enemies and not as friends, by force and not by treaty; and, as you have not desired to continue your possession by a new treaty, we beg leave to exercise our right as Sovereigns, and to bid you depart, in which we are justified by the law of nations, and by your conduct. You were so sensible that your right here was purely a right of convention, and that, after every war, it merely depended upon continuing it by specific treaty, that you never failed so to continue it, at the end of every war, from 1670 to 1783; and, as you have not observed this precaution at Amiens, you have forfeited your right, and we insist upon the exercise of ours.—We should be glad to hear the reply of the logwood lawyer and the Master of the Rolls.

* See Art. XV. Register, Vol. I. p. 326.
† See the article we allude to, p. 111.

AMERICAN STATES AND LOUISIANA. —In p. 136 of this sheet, will be found the message of Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States of America, to the two Houses of Congress, at the opening of their session, which began, it appears, on the 15th of Dec. last. A paper like this embraces, of course, a great number of important objects. In order to form a right judgment relative to which, we beg leave to recommend, to such of our readers as may not be conversant in American affairs, to peruse the articles respecting that country, which will be found in the body and in the Supplement of Vol. I. of this work, and which are, in some sort, necessary to explain the views of the President, with respect both to foreign and domestic concerns. But, in the topics of this message, there is one, in which we, our readers, and our country, are more immediately interested: we mean that of the cession of Louisiana to France. "The cession," says the President, "of "the Spanish province of Louisiana to "France, which took place in the course "of the last war, will, *if carried into effect*, "*make a change in the aspect of our foreign re-*

" *lations*, which will, doubtless, have just " weight in any deliberations of the Legis- " lature connected with the subject."—This is perfectly *equivocal*; but, when viewed in conjunction with the alarm expressed by the people in every part of the United States, it is well calculated to produce that effect, which it really has produced on the small politicians, who conduct some of the London newspapers, and who appear to be, at last, awakened to some sense of the danger to be apprehended from this cession. But, the manner in which they communicate their sentiments to the public is truly curious. One affects to regard the danger as something which he himself had perceived, though he had, till now, thought it proper to conceal it from the profane vulgar; while another acknowledges it to have been foreseen, but observes, that the " specula- " tive politicians have hitherto considered " the cession as likely to be attended with " molestation *only* to the United States;" whereas, by this cession, " France has got " into her hands the *key of South America and* " *the Spanish mines*."—Now, justice to ourselves and to our cause compels us to recall to the minds of our readers what we have said upon this subject, and to refer them to a dissertation as well as a map upon the subject, in Vol. I. of this work, p. 443. One passage from that dissertation we must quote, because it so completely destroys the assertions of the Morning Chronicle respecting our having extended our views of the danger of the cession to the United States of America *only*. " From the cold " regions of the North, from the haunts of " the martin and the beaver, let us now " turn to the glowing mines of the South. " In ceding Louisiana to France, Spain has " not stipulated for *boundaries*. The do- " minion which France formerly claimed " (and she never recedes), extended, on " the sea-board, towards the South, as far " as the Rio Bravo. The mouth of this ri- " ver, which affords good anchorage for " vessels of any size, places the all-power- " ful Republic at no more than 60 miles " from St. Andre, 123 miles from Panuco " and Yago, and 300 miles from the city of " Mexico itself, to all which places there " is a road from Rio Bravo much easier to " pass than the space between Philadel- " phia and Pittsburgh, which cost the " American militia a march of only one- " and-twenty days."—And yet the small politician, who conducts the Morning Chronicle, has discovered that " speculative po- " liticians have *hitherto* perceived danger *only* " to the United States!" The passage above quoted was published in the month of May last; and let not the " *safe* politi- " cians" say, that the Definitive Treaty was then made and ratified, and that it was *too late* to prevent the evil, for, the same, in substance, was said in one of the letters to Ld. Hawkesbury, on the Peace :—" Loui- " siana borders on Mexico, my lord, and " I can assure your lordship, that *your march* " *to Paris*, even in 1793, would not have " been so easy as a march from *New Orleans* " *to the city of Mexico*. Ten thousand French " soldiers, inured to the hardships and fa- " tigues of the camp and the field, accus- " tomed to danger as the eagle to the tem- " pest, and attracted by the richest prey " that ever tempted the rapacity of man, " would snatch this glittering prize from " the feeble and enervated hands of the " Spaniards, with much greater ease than " a handful of their ferocious and sanguinary " ancestors took it from its ancient pos- " sessors."—This was published on the 22d of October, 1801; and yet, it is now discovered that the source of danger here spoken of, has " *hitherto*" escaped observation! But this is an old trick of the small politicians, who, like their great leader, Mr. Sheridan, are famous for picking up, and appropriating to their own use, sayings and opinions, which they think are forgotten. They may, indeed, say as to the present case, that they never read the Register; but this excuse will not do with respect to Lord Grenville's speech of the 4th of May, where his lordship said, that, the " cession of Louisiana gave the French " an immense influence on the north as " well as the south of America. It gave " them the command of our West India " navigation, and it brought them within " 300 miles of the city of Mexico, the " march to which would be as easy as from " Chester to London; and, he had no " scruple to affirm, that, on the unfurling " of the first standard of an expedition " from Lousiana to Mexico, the whole of " the western inhabitants of the United " States would repair to it in arms."*—And yet the small politicians never before heard it suggested, that *Mexico* was in any danger from the cession of Louisiana. The fact is, that they are, upon all occasions, loth to acknowledge, that the opposers of the peace, whom they sometimes call the *Grenville Party*, and sometimes the *New Opposition*; they are extremely loth to acknowledge, that these gentlemen were correct in their opinions, respecting the consequences of the peace. They feel that they are entitled to no share of the honour of that opposition; and, therefore, they are

* Register, Vol. II. p. 1222.

uncommonly anxious to derogate, in some way or other, from the merit which events are daily attaching to it.—Returning to the President's message, and the opinions of the American people, it is now acknowledged, in that country and in this, that great danger is likely to arise to them both from the cession of Louisiana to France. How clearly this was predicted, how strongly it was dwelt on by those peers and members of parliament who opposed the treaty of Amiens, must be well remembered; not, therefore, to swell this article beyond the limits which we have to allot to it, we shall content ourselves with quoting the opinions of the makers and defenders of that fatal and degrading compact;* the opinions of the "*prudent* ministers," and the "*safe* politicians," beginning with that most sapient statesman, the minister of Richmond Park, who, in reply to Mr. Windham, sagaciously observed: that "His "right honorable friend laid great stress "on the establishment of the French in "Louisiana, and had said that the French "power could now put in danger the "whole of the continent of America, north "and south; but his right hon. friend could "not say, that if the French had not this "extent of territory *there*, they could not, "if *St. Domingo* were tranquil, and affairs "were at rest with them in *that quarter*, "become, by means of a large military "force, *formidable to either North or South* "*America!*"†—His colleague, his worthy colleague, the solid young Lord Hawkesbury, the "steady young man," as the shop-keepers call him; this "*prudent* mi-"nister," expressed himself on the subject in the following "*safe*" and sensible manner: —"As to the political advantages, which "France will derive from the possession "of Louisiana, *I doubt whether they can be of* "*much consequence.* Gentlemen have said a "great deal about the influence, which "this possession threatens to give France "over the United States of America. To "this I answer, that it is the policy of "America to keep an equal balance be-"tween France and us, and that the pro-"bability therefore is, that the possession "of Louisiana, by *placing the French upon the* "*back of America*, every maxim of sound "policy will incline the latter to cultivate "a more intimate connexion with this "country." He next observed, that Mr. Windham, by supposing the danger to America to be so great, "*under-rated the* "*population and power of the United States*, and "forgot the *successful exertions*, which they, "when colonies of this country, made "against the French in 1756, though the "latter were then in *possession of both Louisiana* "*and Canada!*"*—The Saint Domingo General followed next. This gentleman, who appears to be not less able in the senate than in the field, and who shone not less in the debate on the treaty than at Port-au-Prince, or before the walls of Ferrol, said, that, "of Louisiana he had heard, that it "would enable France to attack the United "States on one side and Mexico on the "other; but, when Louisiana was *formerly* "in possession of France, it was totally "*imbécile*; and it had not increased in "population since it came into the hands "of Spain. But it was contended, that "the possession of Louisiana would give "the French great influence eventually "over the councils and measures of the "United States: here there was one ob-"servation that naturally occurred to the "mind of every man, which was this: "*We possess Canada, yet that possession does not* "*enable us to influence the United States*; and, "if this be the case, with *how much more force* "*does the argument apply to Louisiana!*"†—The Master of the Rolls, whose name we mention here with deep regret, said, that "With respect to the cession of Louisiana, "the value and importance of that cession "had been only *discovered within a few nights* "*preceding.* It was *formerly* in the possession "of France; but *she had not been able to draw* "*from it those advantages, which, it was con-*"*tended, she would derive from it now.* With "respect to *danger* arising from it, he could "not perceive that degree of injury to "this country, which had been pourtrayed. "The only *danger* likely to result from it "that he could discover, arose from bring-"ing France in contact with the United "States of America," [which was the very thing that Lord Hawkesbury rejoiced at]. "It *might* happen, that, in the *course of ages*, "some danger would result from this con-"nexion, but it could not be soon."‡—Such were the opinions of the "*safe* poli-

* It may be useful, however, to refer our readers here to some of the passages, to which we allude, in the speeches of those who opposed the peace.—Supplement to Register, Vol. II. Mr. Windham, p. 1157 and 1204; Mr. Elliot, p. 1193; Lord Grenville, p. 1222; Mr. Elliot, p. 1231; Lord Grenville, p. 1273; Mr. Windham, p. 1295 and 1298; and Sir W. Young, p. 1328.

† Debate of 3d May, 1802. Register, Vol. II. p. 1211.

* Debate of 13th May, 1802. Register, Vol. II. p. 1309.

† Debate of 14th May, 1802. Register, Vol. II. p. 1377.

‡ Debate of 14th May, 1802. Register, Vol. II. p. 1344.

" ticians:" such were the opinions of the makers and defenders of the peace of Amiens; of that peace, which the " witty " senator " said *every* man was *glad* of but *no* man was *proud* of; that blessed peace, at which Mr. Fox, the " patriot Fox," rejoiced, because it was " *glorious to France* " and to the *first Consul:*" such were the opinions, such were the words, of those men, to whom we are to look for the preservation of the country from the fearful dangers that now menace it! The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs talks of *placing the French upon the back of the Americans* in order to *attach* the latter to England, while the Master of the Rolls apprehends no danger from it except bringing the French and Americans *into contact*. The very circumstance, on which one of these statesmen builds his hope, is the only circumstance which excites fear in the other! Then, to see them producing the history of the war of 1756, when the now United States were colonies of England, when the people were devoted to England, and were aided by an English army on their frontier, and by an English fleet in the river St. Laurence; when there was hardly a single settler to the westward of the Appalachian mountains, when the river Mississippi was known to the Anglo-Americans by name only, and when no man ever dreamt of sending flour and beef down that river to the sea: to see the resistance made to the French by the Anglo-Americans, in this state of things, produced as a proof of the resistance they will *now* be able and willing to make; to see this argument seriously urged in the British Parliament, and that too by the minister whose peculiar duty it was to understand and to watch over the foreign affairs of the nation, must have created in the minds of all intelligent foreigners a considerable portion of that contempt, with which this miserable country is now spoken of, in all parts of the world. Yet, was even this surpassed by the Richmond-Park minister, who, in order to convince the House of Commons, that Mr. Windham was deceived, and that the cession of Louisiana to France was a thing of little or no consequence, observed, that, if that nation had a mind to attack Spanish America, or the United States, *she might do it equally well from* ST. DOMINGO!!!!!! Poor man! Wretched country, to be committed to a guide like this! To argue with such a thing would disgrace the name of reason; to expose its ignorance would be a libel on the eye-sight and the hearing of our readers. Attack Mexico and Kentucky by the way of St. Domingo, as easily as from the mouth and the banks of the Mississippi! Gracious God! why dost thou . . . . . but we will not complain: we have no right to complain: the simple fact that such a man has been minister for two years together, to say nothing of the acts of his ignorant and selfish administration, is, of itself, a sufficient proof, that the country is unworthy of remaining independent.——Having reminded our readers of the opinions entertained, respecting Louisiana, we should now offer them some remarks on President Jefferson's views, as to this particular point; but these we must reserve till our next. We must, however, not delay to observe, that our American letters, of the 27th of December, inform us, that the States of Kentucky, Tennesse, and the North Western Territory, had presented a memorial to the Congress of the United States, complaining against the measures adopted by the Spanirds at New Orleans, the object of which was to deprive the said states of the navigation of the Mississippi, " a freedom," say they, " *absolutely necessary* " *to our existence.*"—Why, so we said last year about this time. The " *ages,*" of which the Master of the Rolls was pleased to talk, have already rolled away! The importance of the possession of Louisiana, which he said Mr. Windham had " *discovered* only a " *few nights before,*" now appears not to have been a chimerical notion.

ST. DOMINGO.—Much has lately been said and written about this island. We have always thought, that the French would finally subdue the blacks, and make the country at once a productive colony and a rendezvous for their army, a *point d'appui*, whence to stretch forth their power as occasion might offer against our colonies, beginning with Jamaica. There has hitherto been more difficulty than we expected, attending this project; and, if flying reports from America and Jamaica are to be believed, the complete subjugation of the French part of the island will yet cost many thousands of troops; but not nearly so many as it would have cost, if our ministers had loved their country more and their places less; if they had refused to suffer the French armament to sail, 'till the signing of the definitive treaty, which would have given Toussaint time to fill his magazines, to repair his fortifications, and to embody his troops; and which would also have brought the armament to land at a moment when the yellow fever would have aided the blacks. But, say the ministers, " we wished for the French to succeed." Did you so? Why, then, your wishes have hitherto been defeated.—But, referring our

readers to what we have said before on this subject *, we have now to call their attention to a circumstance, which, though not entirely unforetold, will appear somewhat surprizing to those who have not watched the progress of national degradation. It is proposed to lend or let *English ships* for the purpose of carrying out troops to assist in the subjugation of St. Domingo: it is said, that ships have, by the permission of government, actually been hired for this purpose, and, from the language of the demi-official paper, we should not be at all surprized to find, that the ministry had, in one way or another, very considerably contributed to the forming of a depository of men and of arms, which will, at no very distant period be employed against our colonies. We stated, some time ago, that the provisions, supplied by the Americans to the army of St. Domingo, were paid for *in London*; and we shall not be surprized, if, upon enquiry (which certainly ought to be instituted), it should appear, that the British government was, and is, the *guarantee* for repayment to the House of Baring and Co. †. The demi-official paper takes great pains to prepare the public for some such discovery as this, as well as for the hire of the shipping. "It" [the subjugation of St. Domingo] "is, in "some degree, *a common cause*, and it might "be wise and prudent, in the British Go "vernment, to *aid*, in some measure, this "undertaking" ‡. In answer to every thing, which is urged against the suicidial measure here suggested, it is said, that *the West India owners*, "the persons *most inte-* "*rested*," are for it. On this argument, the Morning Post of the 2d inst. has the following very just remarks:—"All those "who are the West India proprietors zea-"lously contend for giving them every aid. "—They wish to live under the British "Government rather than the French, *but* "*they would prefer the French to the dominion* "*of the Blacks*. This may be good argu-"ment in Jamaica, but it is most pernicious "reasoning in London. If once our colo-"nial subjects are allowed to calculate *the* "*prudence of their allegiance*, there is an end "of our colonial empire."—This is true, and very well said, and it certainly has not the less merit for being a faithful repetition of the statement and opinion of Mr. Windham in the debate of the 13th of May, 1802 §. Yes, the West India merchants are the "persons *most interested*," but in *what* are they most interested? Is it in the honour and independence of England, or in their own property? Is it in preventing that property from *falling into the hands of the French*, or from being *totally destroyed?* Every one, and particularly every West Indian, must know that France, with a military power well established at St. Domingo, must soon become the mistress of all that part of the world, particularly when she has established herself at the mouth of the Mississippi. "If we have the policy," said the *Mercure de France*, "to unite the industry "of the colonist with *the warlike spirit of the* "*buccaneer*, the West India islands will soon "become to her [St. Domingo] *what Eu-* "*rope is to France.*" This may be, perhaps, no very great cause of alarm to some of the proprietors of sugar plantations, who would, probably, rather spend their revenue in France than in England. We are really afraid, that many of them have made their calculation, have reconciled themselves to the necessity of *transferring their allegiance*. Not that, in general, they love, the French; not that they would not rather remain under the British Government; but they begin to regard it as being not so much a question of choice between the British and the French governments, as between the French government and the Blacks, and they would rather enjoy even a small portion of their property under the former, than lose it entirely under the latter. Shocking as is the thought, we greatly fear, too, that the same sort of feeling is fast, very fast, extending itself over the mother country. The merchants, the manufacturers, the dealers, the stock-holders and the money-holders of every description, have, for some time, been looking to the *possibility* of becoming the subjects of Buonaparté. They have not, indeed, promulgated the sentiment to the world; they have not probably yet debated on it, in their clubs or committees; they have refrained, perhaps, from talking of it in their cups; they may possibly have hidden it from the partners of their bed, and even from the partners of their purse: but, they have in their *dreams*, kneeled at the feet of the Consul, whom, to their great astonishment, they found to be a mighty good sort of a man; they have, in their waking moments, *thought* about subjection to him; they have mooted the question in their minds; in a word, they have looked, and they do look, to the power of Buonaparté, as a dernier resort, as a last refuge for their wealth.

THE CONDUCT OF THE ADMIRALTY.—This was a topic on which we had much to say, but for want of room, we are obliged to defer it 'till another opportunity. We cannot, however, refrain from congratulating

* Particularly in Vol. II. p. 784, 5, 6, 7 and 8.
† See Vol. II. p. 698.
‡ True Briton, 29. January.
§ See Register, Vol. II. p. 1197.

Lord St. Vincent and the satellites, who have the happiness to move within his gentle influence, on the very zealous and judicious champion they have found in the conductor of the Morning Chronicle, who has so often panegyrized Fox and O'Connor, and who has stigmatized, as a *deserter*, the man who took the much boasted Invincible Standard. We congratulate his Lordship in particular on having found such an apologist, and also on the manner, in which that apologist has acquitted himself. He says, in speaking of the famous Admiralty *tree of liberty*, of which our correspondent gave some account *, "with respect to the *facts* we never heard "of them before." Now, we had not only heard of them before, but we had had, as we have at this moment, the very thing itself before our eyes. We have now lying upon the table, on which we are writing, not only a picture of this lovely tree, but one of the very identical trees, which were stuck up on the masts and in the cabins of the ships, at the very moment when an order was given out to confine to those ships both the officers and the men. This charming tree is printed in the centre of a sheet of post paper, having at the top, these words, thus printed:—"PEACE!! the result of our naval victories!!" And below, in a semicircle over the top of the tree, these words: "The British Tree of LIBERTY." —The tree, which is an oak, is loaded with goodly fruit, the names of several of our most distinguished naval commanders, written in white spaces in the form of an egg. All the other names are placed about amongst the branches, but that of the First Lord, one of the "*modest* ministry," is placed upon the *trunk*, and is *larger* than any of the rest. An account of the several victories is printed on the sides, and at the bottom, of the tree; but that of Lord St. Vincent is printed in characters one size *larger* than the rest, and is placed in the *centre*, though, by its taking that position, the chronological order is destroyed! A more striking instance of vanity and folly, has, perhaps, seldom appeared amongst the innumerable imbecillities, to which human nature is unhappily subject, either in childhood or in age!

STATE OF PARTIES.—The demi-official paper, the True Briton, of the 11th instant, contains an article, which, from its pompous inanity and its modest assurance, we at once attributed to the Richmond-Park minister, but which, upon inquiry, we find good reason to believe it to have proceeded from the pen of that other ornament of "THE FAMILY," Mr. J. H. Addington, uncle to the Clerk of the Pells. That this gentleman should write common sense for the space of two columns and a half of a long newspaper will, we know, by some persons, be totally discredited. That we cannot help. It is sufficient for us that we state what we think to be the fact; to command belief is not in our power.—The object of the article in question, is, to convince the public, and Mr. Pitt in particular, that the present ministry is too strong to be shaken even by him. The writer sets out with a grand display of all the different forces, which the ministry have at their command; and, after endeavouring to justify the minister for declining, on some occasions, to defend the conduct and character of Mr. Pitt, when either or both were attacked by the old O'Connor and Maidstone opposition, he proceeds to state, that rumours have got abroad respecting an union between that opposition and the ministerial party, whereon he makes the following most curious remark:—"Had the government [meaning "the ministry] been weak, these rumours "might have made some impression on "us; being strong, and daily increasing in "strength, and therefore in no want of "such alliances, we disbelieve them. The "*necessity* of such an union, we can only in "*one case* anticipate: and that is one which "of all others, we the most deprecate, but "about which *we are quite at ease*."—This is a direct threat to Mr. Pitt. They here tell him, that, as long as he chooses to let things go on in their present way; that is to say, to support them and *to keep out of office himself*, they would rather have his friendship than that of the Maidstone people; but, that, if he suffers himself to be turned against them, they will unite with his old and avowed adversaries. They do, indeed, deprecate the *necessity* of such a measure, but they, at the same time, cavalierly observe, that it is a matter, about which they are "*quite at ease*."—But, lest Mr. Pitt should not be deterred by this threat of a coalition against him, they next take care to point out the difficulty of the part he would have to sustain in opposition to them; and this is done under the colour of exposing what they have the modest assurance to call the *inconsistency* of Lord Grenville, which "inconsistency," by the by, they deduce from a most shameful falsehood of their own inventing. "To "these two great measures," [the Convention with Russia and the Peace with France] "Mr. Pitt *gave his unequivocal support and* "*approbation*. And yet Lord Grenville tells "us, that Mr. Pitt is the only person, at "the present crisis, *capable of saving the* "*country!*"—This dilemma (which is not

* See Vol. III. p. 67.

so for Lord Grenville) they have invented purely for Mr. Pitt. It is, word for word, a repetition of the charge of Mr. Sheridan against Mr. Pitt, upon the supposition that the latter meant to return to power. From Mr. Sheridan the charge might be fair enough, but, as coming from them, nothing could be more hostile, more malignant.—At the close of this curious essay, there is another stroke obviously intended to decry that sort of talent, which Mr. Pitt is universally acknowledged to possess in a superior degree, and for which, indeed, he is indebted for his fame.—"The measures of a "government," say they, "may be very "wise, and highly salutary to the country, "though unaccompanied with the display "of *extraordinary* ORATORICAL talents!"—Yes, good honest men, plain men, men in the middle classes of life, as Mr. Wilberforce said, may be excellent judges of public measures; but, unfortunately, in searching after these men in the middle classes of life, we have gone too far, and have taken them out of the *lower* classes of life. But, then comes the question, *who* was it that raised these low people? Who was it that stirred up these lees? It was Mr. Pitt! yea, it was Mr. Pitt himself! And he now has the mortification to see himself treated by them as the Colonnas and the Medicis were by Sixtus V.—And, let it not be supposed, that vengeance is within the reach of Mr. Pitt. Let it not be supposed, that to send these people back to their native obscurity is so easy a matter. In enumerating their friends, had they not been restrained by their modesty, they could have mentioned one much more valuable than all the Foxes, and Tierneys, and Greys, and Erskines, and Sheridans in the world; we mean Mr. Napoleone Buonaparté, a name that makes your well-meaning men turn pale and sets their teeth a-chattering in their head. Twice already we have said,* and we now say it for the third time, that, "the *prudent* ministers know, that there is another set of "statesmen working day and night to prevail on Mr. Pitt to cut off the thread of "their existence; but, *with Buonaparté at "their back*, they might bid defiance to the "Fatal Sisters themselves."—The Addingtons feel the truth of this as forcibly as does Deboffe. They remember well the sentiment of that patriotic gentleman, who "wished to see *no change of ministry*, be"cause, as the present ministers were known "to be of a *pacific disposition*, if they were "changed, such change might furnish A "NEIGHBOURING POWER with a *pretext for* "*going to war with us*." They know but too well, that he spoke the voice of the country, and they know that that voice will enable them to set Mr. Pitt at defiance. This they have now done: nor, indeed, can any one, as far as we know, blame them for so doing: it is, in itself, rather a manly act: but, they might have done it with a little more suavity, in a manner less overbearing, less humiliating to Mr. Pitt, who though his political influence be diminished, still retains, and will ever retain, that respect and veneration, which is due to splendid talents, and to long, zealous, and disinterested services.

The CONVENTION between France, Austria, and Russia, which will be found in p. 134, shall be noticed in our next.—The hold which France is gaining on this country, by various means, shall also be a subject of remark.

* See Vol. II. pp. 573 and 889.

NOTICES.

A. T. may be assured, that we have not overlooked the scandalous misrepresentation which the Small Politicians have given of our exposure of Mr. Addington's financial statement. We will not ask how long it is since these gentlemen began to feel an anxiety for the credit of their country; but we call upon them to overset the facts and the arguments, which they have, as yet, thought proper to meet with nothing but an ill-natured envious falsehood.—These Small Politicians (by which we mean Mr. Sheridan and his tribe of shallow-brained followers) have, in a late long and dull publication, given us their creed, which, in few words, is this: Mr. Pitt ought not to return to office, Mr. Fox is devoted to France, Mr. Windham is the true friend of his country but is the enemy of news-papers, Mr. Addington is a poor weak foolish man, but a poor weak foolish ministry is best suited to the present crisis, from which latter opinion some persons suspect, that the Small Politicians are speaking one word for Mr. Addington and two for themselves.

The SUPPLEMENT to Volume II. is at length *completed*; and will be ready for delivery on *Thursday next*.

Two sheets will be published next week, and will contain all the communications of our correspondents, which we have hitherto been obliged to leave out, and amongst which are some which will be found highly important.

In consequence of the great demand for Number 3 of the present Volume, containing an exposure of the fallacy of Mr. Addington's Financial Statements, the Public are respectfully informed, that it has been reprinted, and is now ready for delivery. The "Narrative of the taking of the Invincible Standard," and Mr. Cobbett's "Letter to Lord Auckland on the Abuses of the Post-Office" have also been reprinted.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by E. Harding, No. 18, Pall-Mall.